

LABOUR

MARCH, 1950

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We Won—We Can Win Again

LABOUR WON the General Election. That, despite any temporary disappointments which may be felt, is the important fact to be borne in mind. Not only have we won the election, we have increased our aggregate vote from 11,992,292 in 1945, to 13,331,682 in 1950, proof, if any be needed, that Labour's achievements were successfully got over to and understood by a great solid mass of the electorate.

This, after four-and-a-half years of calculated misrepresentation during a period when Britain faced apparently insurmountable problems is a credit to every organiser and worker.

Some consolation can be had and also a definite indicator of the line to be taken in that the Tories have had to scrape the bottom of the barrel in obtaining this, their very last vote from the country. We, on the other hand have still a considerable pocket of votes to collect, particularly in those constituencies where the Tories just got home with majorities of under 1,000. This happened in some 22 divisions and in 7 of these, hopeless Communist intervention robbed Labour of victory.

Wilf Young, Organiser in the Eastern Region, puts his finger on the salient point with regards to the rural areas when he reminds us that Labour did have in this election the vote of the agricultural worker but that the agricultural worker is, contrary to popular opinion, a minority of the rural population.

This is such an obvious point it has been missed by many people. The agricultural worker may have been slow in catching on politically but he is now just as aware of what Labour has done for him as his industrial comrade and can, in the main, be counted upon to give his support and his vote to any Labour candidate. It is the others whose homes are in the country who must be won, particularly the farmer whether he be tenant or owner of his land.

People can be persuaded to give up most bad habits and the farmer, by rational persuasion of what Labour has achieved agriculturally can be won for Labour despite what in many cases is congenital Conservatism.

Some farmers have been won and this writer knows several who at this election were strong in their support of Labour. One farmer talking Socialism at the sale ring would be a good beginning in every district.

The problem may be more difficult in the non-community conscious dormitory areas, susceptible suburbia where the aspiring black-coated workers feel, wrongly, that they have moved away from the working-class and have suffered nothing but ill from Labour. The man who goes to work at nine in the morning instead of at eight must be reached and persuaded that this extra hour in no way separates him from the millions who again have voted solidly Labour. Basically he too has just as much to lose from a Tory Government as the industrial worker and the farmer.

There must be no let-up in our organisation, every worker must be out and about making sure of those extra votes which really *are* there, confident they are his, knowing they are his, aware that the Tories do not have one further vote to add to their poll.

GENERAL ELECTION REPORTS

WALES: We knew from the very outset that the General Election campaign would be fought every inch of the way by the Tories who would use every effort to gain seats in Wales. They had plenty of money and a large paid staff but we, on the other hand, had a huge army of enthusiastic volunteers and I must say here that I have never known our organisation to be in better trim for any campaign.

Our helpers worked like Trojans right up until the close of the poll. It is worthy to note that in one industrial district Cwmavon (in the Aberavon Constituency), the booths were closed one hour before the scheduled time because every elector had registered his or her vote.

Prior to the election we had in Wales 25 Labour seats out of a possible 36. Now the figures read, 27 Labour out of a possible 36. It is clear that we show a gain of 2 seats. This is Wales' reply to a Labour Government which provided full employment.

Cliff Prothero

SOUTHERN: Thirty-six southern constituencies were represented by Labour in the last Parliament. The new Parliament will have only 22 Labour members for the region. Without making allowances for redistribution, an overall loss of 14 seats.

Six of the constituencies now represented by Conservative members in the region have been won on majorities of less than 1,000, viz., Bexley (133), Brentford and Chiswick (857), Croydon West (987), Portsmouth West (945), Spelthorne (31), Chislehurst (167).

The years 1948-49 had seen a concentration of Conservative activity in these constituencies. Vast mass Party memberships had been built up by Tory organisers, bands of full-time canvassers for membership had been employed. Tory agents possessed a marked register of electors and were not unduly alarmed by February "Fill-dyke." The entire machine of our opponents was stripped to battle order.

Several of the losses which Labour sustained in the Southern Region would undoubtedly have been held if a 100% canvass had been achieved, and, let it be whispered, we have even heard of candidates who did not take a lead in the important job of canvassing for votes on their own behalf.

Labour met most of its "Waterloos" in the homes of black-coated workers, the veneer of the middle classes, folk who travel to the big city by train, and have felt the impact of rising costs.

The Election results emphasise two important facts—(1) A 100% canvass of the electorate must be achieved to ensure victory. (2) There is an art in wooing suburban voters, ill-phrased sentences from the speech of a Minister can do irreparable harm.

Frank Shepherd

EASTERN: It is always easier to write hopefully about prospects than to explain results!

We now hold 21 of 52 seats as against 40 of 53 at the time of the Dissolution. We gained 1 seat. Of the 20 seats lost 5 were abolished under Redistribution and 6 were formerly held by less than 1,000 votes each, whilst of the remainder 4 were also marginal. The wonder is that we won them in 1945.

It was not surprising that we lost Cambridgeshire, which is now wholly rural, whereas we only won Cambridge in 1945 by 682 votes. We lost Luton to the reactionary forces led by the Radio Doctor, the position being complicated by a Liberal being in the field. Moreover, two strong Labour wards were transferred to the newly-formed South Beds constituency, where we made a splendid gain. Bedford would have been won but for the loss of agricultural villages to Mid-Beds, which, despite a gallant fight, remained Tory.

Redistribution and clever and insidious reactionary forces played havoc at Barnet which we lost by 10,000. To a less extent the same reasons affected St. Albans where we failed also, whereas Hitchin, which we secured last time by only 346 votes did not hold.

In Norfolk we lost 2 seats, namely South Norfolk, which we expected to win, and Norwich South—which is explained by the fact that Norwich North was won by a majority of more than double the combined Labour majorities when the Borough was a two-member seat.

We did exceedingly well at Thurrock where, despite the intervention of the Independent Labour candidate, the people gave us a solid vote and sufficient to ensure victory again next time.

FROM AROUND THE REGIONS

In Essex we started off with the initial loss of 4 seats which were abolished under redistribution. Excepting at Ilford N. and Ilford S., where there was an increased electorate, and Epping which we captured in 1945 by only 987 votes, the Metropolitan part stood absolutely firm with great majorities. They did a grand and gratifying job.

In the County we narrowly lost the garrison town of Colchester, which was won for the first time in 1945. Chelmsford benefited from redistribution but went down owing to unfortunate reasons.

Romford went the same way and this was due to the inclusion of a very large Tory vote, brought about by the change of boundary; otherwise this might have been a striking victory.

We lost seats in the outer London ring, largely because of the work and influence of the people who travel daily to the City.

The Labour vote in the rural constituencies was disappointing, but I do not believe the agricultural workers forsook us. The agricultural vote is one thing: the rural vote another and larger, and whilst the former was for us, the latter was heavily against us.

Wilfred Young

SCOTLAND: Scotland maintained its reputation for political stability and Labour emerges from the General Election with an increased Labour vote but with two seats less—37 against 39 in the previous Parliament.

We gained four seats and lost six. The new boundaries in Edinburgh and Glasgow created some stiff problems for us and cost us at least three seats. Communist intervention cost us another two. The Liberal candidates had little effect as the Liberal vote in their absence would have been evenly divided between the Tories and ourselves.

We remain the strongest Party in Scotland both with regards to Members of Parliament and to votes. This is satisfactory as far as it goes but is nevertheless some disappointment, because just a little extra effort could have won us six more seats.

In this election the Tories polled their last possible vote while we could have polled more if our Polling Day arrangements had been just that little bit better. The votes cast for Labour in Scotland are

the highest yet and put us in a good position to go into the attack. On the day after the count we had started our preparations for the next battle.

John Taylor

EAST MIDLANDS The 1950 General Election results in the East Midlands cannot be fully appreciated unless reference is made up to the 1945 election and to the Party representation in the region before 1945.

Before 1945 Labour held 9 seats and the Tories 30. In 1945 we exactly reversed the position, Labour 30 and Tory 9. Now 1950 find us in the East Midlands with 27 seats, a net loss of 3, Peterborough, Harborough and West Derbyshire. The Tories now have 14 seats instead of the previous 9 since they won 2 new constituencies created by the Boundary Commission, Carlton and South-East Leicester.

We missed retaining Peterborough by 144 votes and saw the new division of Carlton escape us by 395. Peterborough was only won by 571 in 1945 and Carlton, the new division, was made up largely of the old Rushcliffe division.

In Harborough and South-East Leicester, where we lost by more than 6,000 votes, the dice was loaded against us by the Redistribution. In West Derby the personal battle between the House of Devonshire and Charlie White became a Party fight. Charlie White had to give up being the Labour candidate for reasons of ill health and the Duke's son, who fought Chesterfield, got half the votes of the Labour candidate.

We had five constituencies with Communist opponents, all of whom ignominiously failed and lost their deposits. Only 5 constituencies out of our 41 failed to boast a Liberal candidate. Out of these 38, only 13 just managed to save their deposits. In the five straight fights we won four.

Twenty of our 27 successful candidates were returned with complete majorities over all comers, six were returned on minority votes and one, Lincoln, had a vote which exactly equalled the combined votes of his two opponents.

While our East Midland candidates, agents and election workers deserve congratulations for their work and its results nevertheless we must all face what is involved in the problem of organising

and maintaining Labour support in the rural districts and in the small market towns.

It is equally important that we all face up to the Party policy difficulties of wooing and holding the votes of those who think they belong to the middle class.

It was the 'differential', the marginal difference of income and status between the working and middle classes which was the most potent factor in the minds of those who occupy this centrist position.

The lesson we must learn is that these are far from being entirely those who have voted, or who may vote Liberal. It is these people who have settled the election result and will settle the next and for many elections to come.

In other words the middle-class has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase.

Constituencies with solid Labour majorities must, in the short time that is available, devote both money and manpower to help in the fight of enrolling new members and winning electoral support in rural and semi-rural areas and particularly those constituencies which have M.P.s now sitting with minority votes.

J. T. Baxter

SOUTH-WEST In the South-West our heads are not very bloody and not at all bowed. One cannot fight a battle without suffering casualties, and we grieve for only small losses. On the other hand we have erased our former two Independents and our solitary Liberal.

In 1945 Labour won 15 constituencies. One of these was eliminated by Redistribution. Victor Collins was surprisingly defeated in Taunton by 1,372. Within changed boundaries Ben Parkin lost Stroud and Thornbury by the smallest majority in Britain, 28. The complete redrawing of North Somerset boundaries gave us fine polls in the North Somerset and Wells constituencies but cost us a seat. We go back 11 strong, vis-a-vis 32 Conservatives.

The Liberal Party has always clung desperately to the tradition-bound South-West. It is on the way out. In 1945 it averaged 9,327 votes per candidate and lost 3 deposits. In 1950 it averaged 7,553 votes per candidate and lost 11 deposits. The aggregate Labour vote increased by 14%, and the average vote per Labour candidate rose from 15,735 to 17,088.

More and better work was done by our people than ever before, and the public campaign was waged vigorously by a body of excellent candidates. We hold a

majority of the borough seats, but in the far-flung county constituencies the wealth-fed Tory machine reaped its harvest on polling day.

Voluntary spare-time effort alone, however devoted, cannot maintain and service an adequate election machine nor conduct enough propaganda in many of these big county divisions. If all the Agents appointed in recent months can be retained, the next General Election, whenever it may come, should register further progress for Labour in the South-West.

C. C. Jones

NORTHERN: The campaign in this region went along very well indeed. The number of workers both for canvassing and other activities was greater than ever before. The canvass was done more efficiently and on a larger scale than I have previously experienced. From the very strong constituencies we were able to get a considerable number of our workers into the marginal constituencies where they concentrated on the canvass.

Meetings were well attended and on the whole run efficiently although in the main they were manned by people inside the region as it was properly felt that national speakers could be used to better advantage elsewhere.

A feature of the election was the very high standard of election literature produced both locally and nationally. The stereotype election address was discarded in almost every constituency. Also, bright attractive leaflets were the order of the day. The national election news-sheet was localised by having the front page changed for every constituency (except Whitehaven), in the area. This was done through the Regional Office, and local agents and candidates agreed that it helped considerably.

Whilst the Press was hostile it gave us a better share than has been experienced before. Four articles by Labour candidates appeared in the Newcastle evening paper and four in the morning paper—and there was a fairly even reporting of meetings.

Head Office services were appreciated by agents and candidates throughout the region. The literature supplied and the Campaign Notes in particular were highly praised.

As to the result, as anticipated, Tyne-mouth (which had been very much affected by redistribution), was our only loss. In the whole of the region Labour polled 927,720 votes against Conservative, 602,775; Liberal, 133,304; and others, 7,088.

Of the total electorate we polled 47.5% and the percentage poll was 86%. Even in the rural constituencies we increased our vote but not sufficient to eat into the Tory majority vote here.

W. B. Lewcock

WEST MIDLANDS: The West Midlands has done well. Birmingham set the pace with a magnificent effort of returning 9 Labour members. In the West Midland counties we suffered only a nett loss of two seats. This summary speaks for itself. 1945 figures are in brackets.

	Seats	Votes	% of Poll
Labour ..	32 (34)	1,338,668 (1,114,715)	50.5
Conservative	23 (18)	1,136,112 (883,714)	42.9
Liberal ..	0 (0)	164,997 (176,832)	6.2
Communist ..	0 (0)	2,162 (7,229)	.1
Independent	0 (1)	8,418 (39,026)	.3

The following seats were lost. One in Birmingham, Wolverhampton South-West (1), Stafford and Stone (1), Burton (1), Kidderminster (1).

Seats were gained at Rugby and in the new constituencies of Coventry South and Brierley Hill.

Most areas report more workers than in 1945 and tremendous enthusiasm. Generally, our constituencies were better prepared, with better polling day procedure and the adoption of 'promise' cards published by the Regional Council.

Nevertheless, weaknesses were apparent and must be tightened up. The industrial areas were solid and rural constituency agents reported enthusiasm and packed meetings, previously unheard of in the country districts.

While the West Midlands did well we cannot afford to sit back, particularly in the rural districts where a special effort can win additional votes.

H. R. Underhill

LANCASHIRE and CHESHIRE: The North-West emerged from the election with 42 out of 81 instead of 56 out of 84 seats. Lancashire with 39 out of 64 did well as did most industrial areas but the residential and rural areas of Cheshire were heavily against us and we won only the industrial seats of Birkenhead and Stalybridge and Hyde and the mainly industrial seat of Crewe. High Peak and Westmorland remained Conservative.

As throughout the country the Labour vote increased in almost all constituencies, the total poll increasing from 1,586,309 to 1,735,432. Whilst raising no objection to the redistribution of Parliamentary seats which was obviously necessary, it is worth noting that every seat lost in this area (with the possible exception of one or two

seats in Manchester and Liverpool which might have been lost in any case), is directly attributable to redistribution.

Two Labour seats were abolished, one in Salford and Heywood and Radcliffe. The double-membered boroughs were divided into separate constituencies. In Preston this was accompanied by the addition to both North and South of rural areas which adversely affected both divisions, one of which was lost. In Blackburn the greater part of Labour's strength was included in West Division and East was lost. Bebington and Clitheroe were lost because of the addition of non-Labour areas whilst Stretford and Ormskirk were lost because Labour areas were taken from them.

In Manchester the number of seats was reduced from 10 to 9 and in Liverpool from 11 to 9. In both cities the Labour Divisions had the small electorates and the resulting reduction in Labour representation from 9 to 6 in Manchester and 8 to 4 in Liverpool was in part expected. In both cities the Labour vote was improved and better representation can be secured in the future. The Party is in good heart and will face the future with confidence.

R. C. Wallis

LONDON: In London we approached the recent contest with eagerness not unmixed with apprehension. We started with a big handicap. Redistribution reduced London's 62 seats to 43 and since we had won 48 last time it was accepted that we could not expect to make so big a contribution as then to Labour's total strength. Perhaps it was not generally realised that, in addition to having to face this slashing reduction in representation, the Labour Party in London was, on balance, at a considerable disadvantage in the incidence of boundary alterations.

One great advantage we had, in the rehearsal at the London County Council elections. In London, the County Council divisions are the same as the parliamentary constituencies and we were thus given the opportunity of trying out our newly-created constituency organisations in April, 1949.

I attribute a good deal of our success in the General Election to this 'try-out.' We feel that we have done well in securing for Labour a proportion of the representation of London only very slightly inferior to that of the Northern Region and Wales.

Our aggregate Labour vote is over a million and we have sent more than one-

(Continued on page 15)

Our New Appointments

EACH OF THE 32 AGENTS appointed by the N.E.C. just prior to the General Election have taken over their duties at a most vital time. We do not know when the next General Election may be held but we can be sure that the Tories will be going all out to maintain and strengthen still further their organisation. The new organisers have one advantage over their Tory opponents in that the latter have each collected their *last* vote while we still have thousands of additional votes to be won.

Forestry Worker

Ex-forestry worker JOHN MCMILLAN has stopped chopping down trees to chop down the Tories instead in SOUTH BUCKINGHAM where he has been appointed agent. John was an employee of the Forestry Commission in the rural area of Dumfries. He comes to South Bucks aware, and with an intimate knowledge of, conditions in country districts.

The new agent for ETON AND SLOUGH, 37-year-old MATTHEW SMYTH, takes up his post after being a Party member for 5 years, preceded by an extensive I.L.P. background. Matthew has been a journalist and copy writer which should solve all propaganda and publicity problems in this area.

Switching from iron moulding to moulding Labour's interest at MACCLESFIELD is 35-year-old SAMUEL FODEN. He has already a good history of organising, having organised Macclesfield's iron workers after 20 years' of non-unionism into 100% union membership.

Saffron Walden

TO SAFFRON WALDEN goes 38-year-old GEORGE WHITWORTH, ex-Lincoln Corporation transport driver after 7 years' of Party membership and 18 in his trade union. George has been Assistant Secretary of Lincoln Trades Council. After considerable experience as Honorary General Secretary and Agent of Tunbridge Wells Labour Party HAROLD FLETCHER has been appointed agent at THURROCK.

Appointed to SOUTHWEST WEST is DONALD RANGER, 29-year-old son of Mr. J. Ranger, Member of Parliament for Ilford South until the last General Election. BRISTOL NORTH-WEST have appointed as their agent LESLIE CHAMBERLAIN whose Party connection goes back to 1937. VICTOR JACKSON,

a member of the Party for more than 20 years, has been appointed to BRISTOL SOUTH. By profession a secretary, his work and his long membership should make him an able full-time addition to Labour in the South-West.

Forsaking the sea where he was employed as a Navigating Officer in the Merchant Service is ROBERT BARTON, appointed agent at WATFORD where he will now be responsible for navigating Labour's interests in that district. CHISLEHURST has acquired WILLIAM GILROY; MAIDSTONE, ARTHUR HARRIS; LANCASTER, JOHN SCOTT; BURY AND RADCLIFFE, EDWIN PLASTOW; and to LIVERPOOL EXCHANGE goes KENNETH COUNSELL.

Fabian Experience

After experience of organising Fabian Groups at Wimbledon and in Surrey LESLIE HAWKINS has been appointed agent for HOLBORN AND ST. PANCRAS SOUTH, while to the new constituency of NORTH LEWISHAM goes HARRY ROGERS. Into POPLAR after 20 years of Party membership goes WILLIAM GUY with an intimate knowledge of the area where he now finds himself agent.

JOHN WALTON first joined the League of Youth at the age of 15 and now at 39 has been appointed agent at ENFIELD. Another new agent with long Party and trade union membership is WILLIAM CHAMBERLAIN who takes over at PUTNEY, while to WEMBLEY NORTH goes 43-year-old DAVID JOHNS who has been a trade union member for 27 years.

WELLINGBOROUGH now has 25-year-old TERENCE MCMAHON as agent; OXFORD CITY, F. INGRAM; STAFFORD AND STONE, BERNARD JACK and HALTEMPRICE, E. G. CARR; while to KEIGHLEY goes 27-year-old plastic engineer MAURICE FUZZARD and to BRECON AND RADNOR, GWANWYN LEWIS.

Scottish Appointments

The new appointments in Scotland are ARCHIE LESSE to SCOTSTOWN, 21-year-old OWEN CONNELLY at TRADESTON, THOMAS MCCLURE to SPRINGBURN while Mrs. KATHLEEN WALSH has the honour of being the only woman appointed as an agent among the latest batch of appointments and the second full-time woman agent in Scotland. Appointments north of the Border are completed with JAMES CORDINER taking over EDINBURGH BURCH, and JOHN PENMAN, EAST FIFE.

Pre-Election Work Kept East Fulham For Labour

Says Secretary-Agent **LEN MAYNARD**

EAST FULHAM had always been a Tory seat until, in 1933, Labour won the famous by-election and returned John Wilmot. In 1935, however, the Tories retook the seat. Ten years later Michael Stewart won it back with a 5,000 majority.

Following reverses in the L.C.C. and Borough Council elections of 1949, it will doubtless be appreciated by *Organiser* readers why this constituency is regarded as marginal. These factors had to be taken into consideration when planning the campaign, but I must stress that, in my opinion, the election was won not by the election campaign alone, but by the efforts of the Party in the preceding months—a period during which we held weekly open-air meetings, a membership drive which recruited over 500 new members, and organised literature sales squads with excellent results.

Key To Success

I am convinced that this work provided the fertile soil upon which we could operate during the election proper. This is by no means a new theory, but it does demonstrate conclusively what all organisers are constantly trying to impress upon our party organisations.

As to the campaign itself, first priority was given to canvassing. All our writing and clerical work, with the exception of 'writing up' the promise cards, was completed before we opened the campaign. Thus all workers, or at least the large majority of them, were used as canvassers. New helpers anxious to work for Labour, when told that there was little clerical work to be done, were persuaded to canvass in company with more experienced people before going out alone.

We took a chance on their responding in this fashion, and it came off. As a result we had a comprehensive canvass of the majority of the constituency. Secondly, we cut down considerably the number of indoor meetings, and held instead a good number of open-air meetings.

Marathon Meetings

We are fortunate in having a busy shopping centre in East Fulham, and we used it to the fullest extent. On February 11 and 18 (both Saturdays) we held open-air meetings running continuously from 10.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. with a relay of speakers

both local and from outside. We also have several blocks of flats, and we distributed notices in these flats during the day announcing evening open-air meetings outside the flats. In this way we took the campaign to the people. To compensate for the lack of press publicity arising from the limited number of indoor meetings, we arranged press conferences with the candidate, and received quite good 'write ups' as a result.

Thirdly, we used pictures of Michael Stewart on every possible occasion, including a 15 in. x 12 in. reproduction on a double crown poster, which although rather expensive was, I feel, worth while. There, briefly, are the items which I think helped to win East Fulham. Work in the months beforehand, canvassing, taking the campaign to the people by open-air meetings, and building up the candidate by use of pictorial display, as well as words.

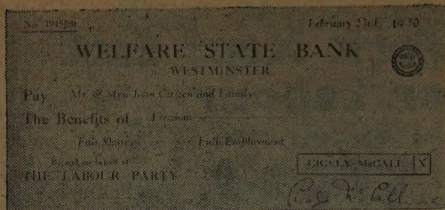
There are many other reasons of course, not least of which was the wholehearted co-operation of members and the candidate. The record of service of Michael Stewart in the constituency, must have also been a contributory factor.

Final Point

One final point which should be mentioned. During the last week the candidate, in company with several members and the open-air activity officer, toured the constituency with a loud-speaker car, and whilst Michael Stewart made short speeches at street corners, members traversed the road distributing literature. In this way the whole of the constituency was covered, and all electors had the chance of seeing and hearing the Labour candidate.

On Friday morning at about 1.30 a.m. we knew that we had added 3,336 votes to our 1945 figure, and despite the intervention of the Liberals and Communists, had again returned Michael Stewart, our Labour candidate, to Westminster with a majority of 2,765.

HALIFAX D.L.P.—Applications are invited for the position of full-time Secretary-Agent. Salary and conditions in accordance with the National Agreement. Application forms from E. Sugden, 2 St. James Street, Halifax, Yorks., to be returned by the first post on Saturday, March 18th, 1950.



ELECTION PUBLICITY

IN the opinion of an art expert whom we asked to look over specimen General Election addresses sent in from all parts of the country, they show a marked decline, more so when one considers the comparatively high standards reached in election addresses used for last year's Municipal Elections.

Too Many 'Wanted' Pictures

First impression is that what could be called the 'wanted' type of election address has again reared its ugly head. By 'wanted' we mean those addresses on whose front page is shown a large, bald picture of the candidate, reminiscent of those large, bald pictures seen outside Police Stations.

So many suffered from this very out-of-date approach to an electorate now anxious to have something novel, something ingenious, from its prospective candidates.

In direct contrast are the addresses from Ian Mikardo and Bruce Cardew. Both show ingenuity, and an appreciation of the fact that at election time, with addresses flooding in from candidates of all the many parties, it is necessary to arouse immediate interest in the mind of the somewhat bewildered voter.

Neither of these examples which we single out for special praise seems to have followed the suggestions outlined in the model addresses but has very effectively and with great success achieved just this very object.

Both use in the best possible manner the highly successful 'You and I' technique. Bruce Cardew, so confidence-inspiring at his desk, pencil in hand, might quite easily have just finished writing the message which runs beneath his portrait.

Ian Mikardo's handwriting may not be so legible, prompting him to have his message set up in typewriter type, but the effect is identical. He also makes good use of the second colour, heading his address with a well-drawn, juicy red brush-letter which by its weight alone would oblige the most lethargic of voters to sit up and take notice.

An excellent example of the psychological approach is that used by Cicely McCall. Who among us would not bend down in the streets to pick up a cheque or give it our first attention if we found one lying on the door mat among the morning's mail?

Similarly the replica ticket used by the Greenwich Labour Party shows an appreciation of the ingenious and a sound sense of fun capable of arousing good humour.

Not every candidate is blessed with the bright name of Sparks, but when a candidate does have such an obviously attractive name it is good to see it used so brightly as in the example on the opposite page.

A little more cunning might have been shown in the actual folding of the addresses. It must be obvious to everyone that there are many novel ways of folding a piece of paper. To take a sheet of paper 8 in. by 20 in., fold it down the middle, making it 8 in. by 10 in. is so obvious as to defeat any idea of novelty.

Summing up, it is enough to say that merely showing the candidate's face, whether he be highly photogenic or not, on the front of any election address is not enough.

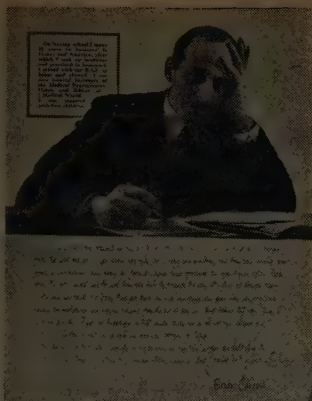
So many faces look like countless thousands of faces in thousands of family albums up and down the country, that something else is called for.

More Important Than Looks

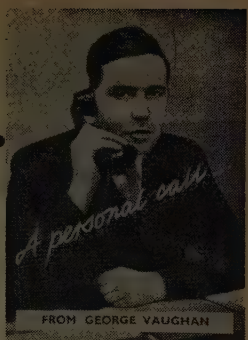
At election time people are interested in other things quite apart from what their prospective candidate looks like; they want to know what he has to say, what sort of a man he is.

Run-of-the-mill election addresses tend to give voters the impression that a candidate is just a run-of-the-mill candidate, but the address which is unique in some way, which not only looks interesting but is interesting, must have an opposite effect.

It is obvious that much redesigning of thinking is necessary if in the future we are to have election addresses doing what they are intended to do, attract votes, rather than being mere churned out, slap-dash pieces of paper destined for speedy delivery to the household waste-paper sack.



Three good uses of
the 'lets-get-
together'
approach



FROM GEORGE VAUGHAN

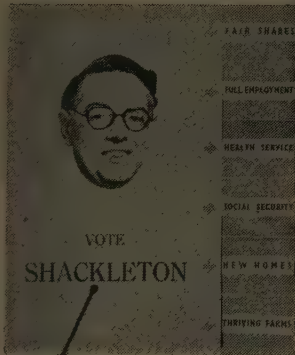


The handwritten and
the typewritten
make the successful
personal touch.

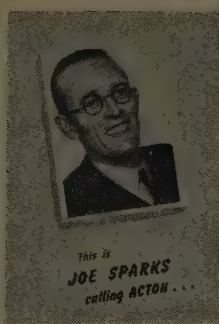
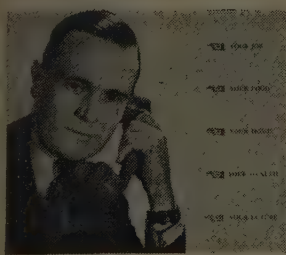
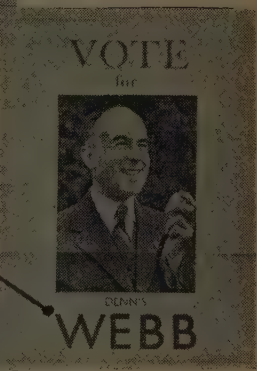
A unique
application
of the
element
of surprise



Full marks!



Mr. Shackleton
and Mr Webb
must surely have
to say



a bright name
brightly used

It Was A Grand Scrap—And Here's To The Next Time

By D. L. EDE, Secretary-Agent Bury St. Edmunds C.L.P.

THE TUMULT and the shouting have died down. The election is over. But what of the jumble of impressions left by the campaign in this rural constituency—one of the last bulwarks of Tory feudal England?

Perhaps the most notable impression was the *lack* of tumult and shouting and the real interest shown in serious discussion and outstanding questions of the day. Another feature was the enthusiastic reception of the candidate at village meetings crowded to the doors, frequently in the worst possible weather, many held in country schoolrooms lit by oil lamps or candles, and with small desks for seating.

The Problems

And the problems of these meetings! First must be decided which of the 123 villages would have to be missed by the candidate for it was apparent that she could only hope to visit about half for indoor evening meetings since two Urban Districts and the Borough must have their share. Open-air loudspeaker meetings during the day would cover half the remaining villages and, for the rest, the candidate recorded a personal message to be played over the public address equipment with the aid of a portable gramophone.

This involved transport difficulties for a constituency approximately 35 miles from top to toe and 25 miles across. A considerable number of cars were required to carry speakers and chairmen from central control to three, four, or even five meetings a night along the narrow country lanes and byways. The scarcity of speakers made it necessary to switch them from one meeting to another to keep the ball rolling until the candidate arrived which, at the beginning of the campaign, was often late because of the delaying tactics of the Tory circus—travelling from meeting to meeting asking the same typewritten list of questions.

Pre-Election Work

This, however, was soon effectively dealt with and had the local crowds roaring disapproval of the interrupters when the situation was explained. But our problems were less acute than they might have been

because prior to the election the constituency was divided into 6 sub-areas, which brings me to the point where, perhaps, I should have commenced—the pre-election work.

Each area was placed in charge of a sub-agent who was responsible for literature distribution, collection of removal and postal votes and other information, preliminary register marking, and for the writing of the canvass cards.

They subsequently conducted an extensive canvass, often in pouring rain, sometimes ankle-deep in mud, and also held village meetings without the candidate (but relaying the recorded message), organised the necessary staff arrangements for polling day, and dealt with the preparation of the election addresses for posting.

This latter had been designed to become a sealed packet when a pre-addressed gummed label was affixed, thus attaining a larger size than the $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. prescribed by the postal regulations.

Growing Support

As canvassing progressed it became obvious that we had a growing volume of support scarcely suspected previously, and a feature in some villages was the small number of 'doubtfuls' for people seemed to have decisively made up their minds. In other villages, particularly where the 'tied' cottage was prevalent, it was difficult to get behind the fear which even to-day exists in rural England.

Poster displays also presented a problem, for in the rural area the majority of villages have no billposting site and even in the towns these are strictly limited. Once again the sub-agents proved their value by distributing 2,000 window bills as well as hundreds of single and double-crown posters for supporters to display.

So to the candidate's last-minute message, designed to appeal to the eye and for easy reading after the mass of literature showered on people more often than not unused to heavy reading. This took the form of a cheque drawn on the Welfare State. (It is illustrated on Page 10.) It was kept a closely-guarded secret until the last moment when it was des-

patched by motor-cycle and car to the village contacts who had promised to distribute one to each house.

Polling Day

Polling Day at last . . . after a swiftly fleeting eternity in which each day was too short but where time seemingly stood still. I made a rapid early morning tour in a red sports car to see each sub-agent and then back to central control to await reports. Meanwhile the candidate made a more exhaustive and exhausting tour of the 133 polling stations where the Tory big-wigs, wearing enormous blue rosettes, sat checking not only numbers but apparently names and addresses. These same big-wigs, had earlier in the campaign visited their villages requesting signatures to Tory nomination papers—a request many found difficult to refuse since they were dependent on these people not only for their livelihood but also for their homes.

Summing up, it was a grand scrap with a wonderfully hard-working candidate and an inspiring team of enthusiasts who, despite Tory misrepresentations, doubled our poll and reduced the majority. Here's to the next time—when I believe we can return Cicely McCall as Bury St. Edmunds first Labour M.P.

The T.U.C. HORSE

It's a shaggy beast, with "T.U.C." painted on its breast. It's well known to the admirers of Low, the world's greatest cartoonist and creator, among other things, of the immortal Colonel Blimp.

Low's cartoons appeared for years in a right-wing newspaper, whose readers he constantly scandalised as much by his left-wing ideas, as he amused them by his penetrating wit and skilful draughtsmanship. Now, he and all his famous characters have moved into the DAILY HERALD and his cartoons are appearing in Labour's own daily newspaper. He enjoys perfect freedom of expression—our own follies are as likely to be pilloried for the good of our souls as anyone else's. Don't miss his brilliant cartoons yourself—and spread the word round that they're now to be seen in the

DAILY HERALD

Labour's Own Newspaper

The Background In Northern Ireland

By **ARTHUR JOHNSON**

THE RESULTS of the five seats contested in Northern Ireland are apt to bear very unfavourable comparison with the picture in Britain as a whole. At first glance this is true, but with every result there must be a background, not only of the organisational position but of the local conditions and atmosphere.

Increased Vote

The most striking feature of the election in Northern Ireland is that only twelve months after the elections for the Northern Ireland Parliament, when the Party was, to all intents and purposes, obliterated, the reorganisation that took place—not only in the framework of the Party but in its policy—enabled the 1945 vote to be increased.

The whole background of Northern Ireland politics is the constitutional position. Once this is introduced into election campaigns—as it is on every occasion—there spreads across the whole of the Six Counties a wave of political bitterness based on patriotic feelings.

This can be strikingly exemplified by the fact that the Ulster Tories used only one poster during this election. It was of the Union Jack with the caption *This We Will Maintain*. It is very difficult to instil into the minds of the people the economic issues involved when passions are aroused so deeply on patriotic lines, and every Labour supporter is called a rebel and a traitor.

Support Exists

There is however, in Northern Ireland, widespread support for the Labour Party and, with constant 'plugging' over the years at the economic issues involved, progress can be made. Politics, both real and organisational, are many years behind modern times, but the fine example that the British movement has set in the conduct of every political issue is having its effect in Northern Ireland, even though it may be slow.

Running a Lottery?

Then Heed JOHN PINKERTON'S Advice

MANY OF OUR PARTIES will, in preparation for the Municipal Elections, be considering the question of raising funds and many will no doubt be turning to the running of draws and sweepstakes to achieve this end.

Although this seems to be one of the obvious ways in which to raise funds for every party purpose, many parties are not happy in that they are never sure whether they are breaking the law in promoting such things. Sweepstakes, draws and lotteries are defined in law as 'schemes for distributing prizes by a lot or chance in which the participants risk the loss of something.'

It appears that where the chance of a prize is obtained wholly gratuitously and none of the participants risk anything the scheme would not be a lottery. Therefore, to be a lottery the distribution must wholly depend upon chance.

The Law Says . . .

By the Betting and Lotteries Act of 1934 all lotteries and sweepstakes are unlawful and various offences are committed under the provision of Section 22 of the Act by persons printing or selling such tickets, advertising the lottery, using premises for the purpose of the lottery, distributing tickets through the post, etc. There are, however, certain exemptions under the Act and those are: (1) a small lottery incidental to certain entertainments such as the lottery commonly termed 'raffle' of a doll or a cake at a bazaar or whist drive; and (2) private lotteries. These are the ones with which we should concern ourselves as they are the most likely to bring our parties into conflict with the law.

It may be quite true to say that the police turn a blind eye to many irregularities not strictly within the law, but they cannot fail to take action when they are informed by a person or persons that an illegality is being committed, and this almost always is the case when the police intervene with a party's running of a sweepstake on a race or a football pool. Quite a number of our parties are of the mistaken opinion that a sweepstake can be promoted and run by a Constituency Labour Party. This is not correct. Section 24 of the Act renders lawful a private lottery promoted for and confined to the members of one society established and conducted for purposes not connected

with gaming, wagering or lotteries.

The Section, however, goes on to say—and this is the VITAL part of the Section and should be noted by all Constituency Labour Party Management Committees—that the expression "Society" includes a group, institution, organisation, or other association of persons by whatever name called and each local or affiliated branch or section of that society shall be regarded as a separate and distinct society.

Restricted Sale

This means, therefore, that for a lottery promoted by a Constituency Labour Party the sale of tickets should be confined to the members of the General Management Committee for the lottery to be legal, and the same would apply to a Local Labour Party or Ward Section or Women's Section, since they are a branch of the major body but are regarded for the purposes of the Act as separate and distinct societies. The argument that a C.L.P. is the organisation to which all members in the constituency belong would not hold good in a court of law.

The problem now facing us is how shall we overcome the difficulty of running sweepstakes and how can we avoid falling foul of the law? This is not an easy question to answer, since only a Court Judgment can finally determine whether a lottery is legal. We can, however, suggest a course which we believe will minimise the risks to a greater degree than are being taken by our parties at the present time.

The idea is to form a special society of supporters, say, for a Building Fund or Fighting Fund and name the society the Trades Hall or Fighting Fund Supporters' Society, and run a monthly or quarterly draw under the auspices of this Society. Every ticket must bear on its face the name and address of each of the promoters (in this case it should be the Secretary of the Society) and a statement to the effect that the sale of the tickets is restricted to the members of the Society, also a statement that no prize will be paid to any person other than the person to whom the ticket was sold and no prize is to be paid except in accordance with such statement. The person promoting the lottery must be authorised in writing by the Executive Committee of the Supporters' Society.

Members of the Constituency Labour Party could all be registered as members of the Supporters' Society by keeping a register of their names and in this way tickets could be broadcast to all members. If a register was kept of the names of all the persons buying tickets there is a likelihood of your getting away with it. It must be remembered that although you run the draw in this way you must still observe the law that the lottery must not be advertised except (a) by a notice on the premises and (b) by the announcement on the ticket and tickets shall not be sent through the post.

GENERAL ELECTION REPORTS

(Continued from page 7)

tenth of Labour's M.P.s to Westminster.

We are very sorry that we had three losses but we take satisfaction in the thought that we have demonstrated beyond all doubt that so-called 'middle-class' constituencies can be won—and held—for Labour by commonsense and hard work.

J. W. Raisin

YORKSHIRE The 53 constituencies within the Yorkshire region, with their 2,938,708 electors were contested for the first time in any election by a full complement of Labour candidates. Prior to Dissolution Labour held 41 seats, Tories 11 and the Liberals 1. The present position is Labour 36, Tory 16 and Liberal 1. An analysis of the figures shows that the Labour vote in Yorkshire has increased from 1,160,002 in 1945 to 1,322,564 in 1950, yet our representation is cut by 6. What are the reasons for this?

First, the redistribution favoured the opposition. It presented them with an additional 4 safe seats and gave a Tory bias to 5 Labour marginal seats. Of these Labour lost 4 by 707, 81, 77 and 64. The total postal vote exceeded the Tory majority in at least 3 of these constituencies.

In one case 75% of the Postal Votes were cast for the opposition. If the Labour Party had given this matter, even in the last month, as much attention as our opponents we would in all probability have held three of our lost seats.

Many of the postal voters were 'resident' in the fashionable seaside resorts, a factor

In summing up it does appear that the founding of such a Society as mentioned would be hardly worth while for an isolated effort, but if a party intends to run a series of draws and lotteries, then the establishment of the Society is the best course to adopt. Apart altogether from the legal aspect, such a Society and its register of members could be of immense value to the literature secretary, membership secretary, election agent, and indeed every officer concerned with the organisation of the party.

which demands in the future a closer scrutiny of the Register of Electors.

Secondly, there is the importance of relating the canvass returns to the polling day machine. More canvassing was done by the Labour Party in this election than on any previous occasion, but we failed to efficiently use the results of our canvass on polling day.

Our opponents were well ahead of us in this important activity. If our workers will concentrate on polling day on the canvassed Labour votes instead of indiscriminate door-knocking our electoral figures would be much improved.

Thirdly, there is the question of putting over policy. Our meetings, particularly in the rural areas, were well-attended but many of our speeches were based upon the past and largely devoid of positive action for the future. This is understandable. We were defending our record and it was certainly the easiest platform approach to the electorate.

These would appear to be the lessons of the election. Let us learn them and at the same time remember that Labour has not been defeated.

In Yorkshire Labour polled 52.9% of the total poll and we will welcome a renewal of the battle confident that our experiences in 1950 will enable us to more than recoup our losses.

Less loud speakers and more personal contact with the electorate will provide Labour with the basis of victory. The spirit and quality of candidates and workers was never higher and we owe them all a great debt of thanks.

J. T. Anson



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DEFINITELY NO 'FISH OUT OF WATER' WANTED

By HAMISH MACKINVEN

MOST LABOUR SUPPORTERS like to help at election time and after an agent has sent out his general call people expect that when they do answer it, hot foot and anxious to assist, some job or other will be given them when they get round to the Committee Rooms.

That, at least, is the expectancy, but in my experience it does not always work out.

I Like Them But . . .

Now, I have a considerable liking for children, for enthusiastic little boys and girls, but at election time, particularly when I find them chasing each other around a Committee Room, getting in the way and bent on really enjoying this unexpected holiday from school, then my liking turns to a deep snarl of resentment.

I came to the last General Election completely innocent of all electoral mysteries, with a fresh mind in fact, and considering what I saw my first advice to election agents is, *keep children out of your committee rooms.*

Children are necessary as runners, I believe, but keep their numbers down to the very minimum and don't have dozens of them all doing their running right inside the Committee Rooms.

They get in the way, they make that noise which is peculiar to children *en masse* and, most surprising, so very often when one really *does* want a messenger they vanish like lost Liberal deposits unless, of course, the message is so important it has to be delivered in one of the cars which should really be taking people to the Polling Stations. At elections then, definitely no children admitted, except the few who can be used to some purpose.

The Flood

Which leads me to my second point, this matter of finding jobs for the volunteers who come, simply bursting to help. Maybe

it is that election agents play for safety and overstress their shortage of potential workers. A good safe point, but when the flood of assistance comes, as it really does nowadays most everywhere, then please, every election agent, do try and find something, no matter how minutely it may help for every one to do.

That ghastly 'fish-out-of-water' feeling which people get standing around just waiting, not quite sure whether the lucky ones who have got jobs resent their presence or are wishing to goodness they would remove themselves to stand around elsewhere is dead cert number one towards destroying fever-pitch morale.

I know, because I was one of the standers around and each minute during which I loafed in helpless idleness *could* have been another vote lost to our Labour candidate. You never know.

To the hardened campaigner my criticisms may appear small; better too many messengers than none, better people mooching around rather than no helpers at all, but first impressions usually do carry a little weight and of the Committee Rooms which I saw during the election campaign then these were, to me, their outstanding faults.

No children and no fish-out-of-water, that should be the aim of every election agent.

Anxious To Help

People are anxious to help us, more people than ever before. It would be a shame, it could be a catastrophe, if many were scared away annoyed and sometimes embarrassed with the impression that people are saying, 'Oh, he's a good sort, but he can't do very much, let him stand around, he'll go away himself eventually.'

We need every pair of hands, eyes and feet, particularly at election time, and there really is something that everyone can do.

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Chosen at Random

By DEREK AGNEW

WE KNEW THEY HAD WON. Even before the late afternoon rain came to further lengthen the already astronomical odds against us, it was apparent that the people of Orpington had struck a heavy blow for their own peculiar interpretation of freedom.

All day they had streamed to the poll. Decisively, and with enjoyment, they told the outside world that whether it was Waldron or a duck-billed platypus they would vote for it—provided it graced the Tory benches.

A Challenge

These are the people who challenge the best of our ingenuity and enthusiasm if they are ever to be won over. The people who catch the 9.12 with their *Telegraphs* and *Expresses* to bore their more pacific travelling companions with condemnation of this wicked planning Government—whilst their own community is a horrible legacy of private enterprise run riot.

Incredible? Then come South with me, through the busy twisting colourful roads of Kennington and Camberwell, Peckham and Lewisham. Through lush Kentish field and thence to Orpington. The arrival cannot be recorded. Like that winter cold it is with you a long time before the awful reality dawns.

Give a 5-year-old pencil and paper and the result, like as not, resembles a plan of this 10,000 majority Tory stronghold. First the factories (with a smell and smoke nuisance that has long been ignored by 'the other side of the town'), and then the chaotic conglomeration of 'detached' and 'semi-detached' mortgages strung together by endless miles of 10 and 15-year-old unadopted roads—with their pot-holes, mud, and miniature lakes in winter, and flying dust in summer. Look where you will for community amenities—they are as rare as the *Herald* reader on that 9.12. This, then, was the centre of a battlefield that extended over some 200 square miles of dormitory smugness and rural slum.

Waldron The Champ

I say 'battlefield' but, in fact, the fight produced only a series of skirmishes. In their wisdom Tory campaigners dressed that superlative individualist Waldron Smithers in a new suit of armour—and on a steed so fleet that its rider had little time for answering questions at meetings.

Reading his election address one would have thought that here was the fountain head of all Tory 'progressiveness'... the champion in the Westminster lists of the Common Man... forever tilting a lance on behalf of the railwayman and the farmworker.

No! This was, unfortunately, never a fight between personalities, for on that issue Orpington would have sent Labour's George Vaughan—that able Quaker barrister—to Westminster.

Instead the Tories confined themselves to hack propaganda designed to appeal to selfish instincts and complete obliviousness to the vast economic problems confronting the nation; a combination too powerful for us to break down even with a really extensive programme of meetings.

Even so we could have kept the Tory majority to four figures had not our utility organisation foundered on the rocks whilst theirs confidently rode the crest of the wave with the buoyancy that one expects from a complement of banknotes and full-time pilots.

Not for nothing did they spend some £2,500 in the constituency during 1949, with paid canvassers at work as well as a full-time woman organiser in addition to the agent. To be honest they feared the effects of Redistribution as much as we welcomed them, and both sides mistakenly imagined a Damocles sword to be hovering above Waldron Smithers' 25-year-old seat—inherited, incidentally, from his father.

Heavy Downfall

Their fears were unfounded and our own confidence we now realise to have been the major factor in a heavy downfall. The amalgamation of 10,000 voters from the 'Dartford rural' area had, we thought, changed the constituency's complexion to something approaching a ruddy glow and under the leadership of part-time agent Councillor Bill Tarry—taking charge of a Parliamentary election for the seventh time—our energies in the weeks prior to the campaign were spent in building up a rural organisation.

Certainly much was done. Three local parties were completely reorganised and Labour's message was spread throughout an area dotted with once great manors and estates. Enthusiasts tramped miles to hear our speakers in such settings as the historic Sedley School, at Southfleet,

built in 1639 and with its original deeds exhibited in the hall.

'The agricultural workers are more solidly Labour than ever before,' the chairman of the constituency's largest N.U.A.W. branch told me, 'and for the first time in my memory there are Labour bills appearing in the windows of service cottages.'

Yes, progress was made in the 'Dartford rural' but nearer home we found it impossible to loosen the Tory stranglehold. At reactionary Downe—where Darwin did much of his famous research—at Petts Wood, where lived Willett, the originator of daylight saving, and at a dozen other centres the Tories had the bowler's length and were capable of playing out their innings indefinitely.

High Hopes, But . . .

Came V-Day, our enthusiasm fanned to intensity by half-a-dozen successful eve of poll rallies, high hopes everywhere—from the poultry hut converted into Central Committee Rooms to the speedway stadium manager's giant limousine in which reclined our candidate—and behind all this . . . an incomplete canvass!

The dire effects of the latter are common knowledge—and we certainly paid for our faults in an area in which, at one time, 16 millionaires resided. The Tory machine started in top gear, kept there all the way, and by late afternoon had switched workers into neighbouring Chislehurst-Sidcup to defeat George Wallace by a make-weight number of votes.

Lest the picture sound too gloomy listen

Pool Resources

**Says H. L. M. HILLIARD
General Secretary, Agents' Union**

NOW THAT THE HEAT of battle has died it is possible to take stock of our position. It is clear that Redistribution has not worked to our advantage and has created, in some places, new marginal constituencies. The English counties provided some serious setbacks for the Party and it would appear desirable for some special organising help to be provided for these areas.

Impressed

Looking at the election from a purely objective point of view one cannot but help being impressed by the manner in which, both inside and outside London, the Tory Central Office drafted workers and other resources from safe Conservative seats into the marginal or 'sticky' Labour areas.

One thing emerges from an analysis.

to Tarry, Labour's first-ever Orpington councillor and, at that time, a member of every council committee and sub-committee:

'Quite true, the canvass was our weakness and every member of the Party must consequently share in the responsibility. Our socks need pulling up! Nevertheless much good work was done the full benefit of which is still to be felt. People have been persuaded to be more open about their political views than ever before in this part of the world.'

'A display of 5-6,000 window cards and nearly a thousand double-crown posters is proof of that—and with the foundation laid in the rural areas the new organisers can carry on the building-up process—leaving the rest of us free to tackle the solid Tory areas.'

The Women's Section has shown the way. The day after the count they raised £22 at a bazaar—and with a 'no inquests for the sake of inquests' outlook, we are well ahead already with reorganisation.

He Is Still There

So Waldron is still at Westminster. Probably more Socialists are pleased about that than Tories. They have a peculiar affection for 'That Man from Orpington'—and he *does* say in public what his colleagues keep to the privacy of their clubs.

But for the Orpington Labour Party there will be no satisfaction until we are able to rewrite this article, and to commence it: 'We knew we had won.' And who is to say why that shouldn't be soon?

Seats have been held, or considerable advance in Labour votes has been made, in those constituencies where, often for the first time, a full-time agent has been appointed. If the very considerable successes that have been obtained are possible as a result of a few months full-time organising, how much better off we should have been if those men and women had been appointed in 1945 and had had five years to consolidate the Party machinery?

Although there has been a substantial increase in our membership we are still a long way from the point where all constituencies are covered by agents—the Union's and the Party's long term objective. With the lesson of the General Election before us, and the possibility of a further election ahead, let us hope that the N.E.C. will be prepared, as we have repeatedly urged, to accept the provision of an agency service on a national basis as a top priority and that, somehow or other, the financial resources shall be found.

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